3: Creel H-4 (no date) 1988
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World perception. Anthropologist Paul Radin has written that the Christian God provided African-American slaves with a "fixed point," and that they converted God to themselves.[11] Of the Gullahs at least it might also be more aptly stated that they converted Christianity to their African world view. Gullahs used religion as a justification to combat objective forces, to collectively perpetuate a rich sublimity in cultural form, and as a spiritually liberating ideology. It was not so much that Christianity instilled a sense of resignation because of belief in future rewards, though admittedly for some this was a determining factor, but that an African philosophical tradition was asserted in the slave quarters.[12]

For slaves, acceptance of Christianity did not imply negation of earthly life. The supreme example of this was their desire for liberty. Freedom was a continuous topic of conversation among them. Robert Smalls, who grew up in antebellum Beaufort, remembered that as a boy he first heard of Frederick Douglass in the slave quarters of one of his owner's Ladies Island plantations. Three people in the slave quarters could read and every scrap of printed matter was given to them to translate. One of the literates, a recent arrival from Charleston, secured a copy of one of Douglass's speeches and read it to the slaves. Between the three literate field hands, the bondspeople of the McKee plantations kept abreast of the "politicking" over slavery. An old slave woman of Edisto Island told Northerner Mary Ames, "I heard for a long time of war and the coming of the Yankees, and I spects my bones be white before I see that time, but I did live to see them, bress de Lord." On one of the St. Helena Island plantations, a black carpenter held a secret night school for the men during bondage.[13] Thus did the Gullahs attempt to apprise themselves of events affecting their future.

The most obvious testament of the Gullahs' will to freedom is their participation in the Civil War, once it became a liberation struuggle. In May 1862, when General Hunter drafted the men without authorization, there was no desire to fight. The Gullah men, having "smelt a very large rat," took to the woods to "split rails,"but were soon rounded up. They were taken to Hilton Head, drilled, kept until after the harvest, placing an extreme hardship on their families, then discharged without pay or freedom. Thus, in the fall of 1862, when the authorized draft was called, with the provision for emancipation, many hesitated. The memories of the previous impressment were still fresh, and "weakened their confidence" in "promises for the future." Enlistments were slow at first. But

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164–66; Edwin S. Williams to Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, January 28, 1863, AMA. For an interesting discussion of the fusion of Old and New Testament figures, see Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 252–55.

7 George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 19 vols., *South Carolina Narratives*, vols. 2 & 3, in 4 parts (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing, 1972), II (2) 180–81.

8. Charlotte Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands," Part II, *Atlantic Monthly* 13 (June, 1864): 672.

9. Mansfield French to Revs. Whipple and Jocelyn, n.d., AMA; Ira Berlin, ed., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867, Series II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 49–50; Allen Diary, 57–58; Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, 145–48; Diary of Laura M. Towne, 26, Penn School Papers, SHC. It is interesting to note that "Old Marcus' " "Massa" was Daniel Pope of the Oaks Plantation. Pope was an important individual in St. Helena's Baptist Church. The Oaks was one of the plantations where Northerners saw so many signs of "Ill-treatment," and was referred to as "de cruelest place." Towne Diary, 32–33.

10. Arthur Sumner to Lt. Joseph Clark, January 23, 1863, Penn School Papers, vol. 4 SHC: Botume, *Amongst the Contrabands*, 218; Higginson, *Army Life*, 231–39.

11. Paul Radin, "Status, Phantasy, and the Christian Dogma," in Clifton Johnson, ed., *God Struck Me Dead: Religious Conversion Experiences and Autobiographies of Negro Ex-Slaves* (Nashville: Social Science Institute, Fisk University, 1945), Foreword, i–ix.

12. There is much that is interesting and convincing in Radin's analysis of slave religion. But he does not take into account fully, the effects of slave religion on social cohesion in the quarters. Radin ignores the cultural and communal components of slave religion—its most progressive elements. He apparently views slave religion in mainly Christian terms, referring to the slaves' "sin" and desire for cleanliness and rebirth. The self-doubt and vacillation which he maintains the Christian conversion experience dispelled represents an analysis of the role of Christianity only on one level. It does not take full cognizance of other influences on the development of black religion. Perhaps Radin attributes too much to Christianity, and views the slaves' perception of Christianity too simply. The Gullahs' conception of sin differed from that which the masters attempted to instill. The slaves looked beyond the concept of a personal God, an "other world," a "rebirth," and beyond an attitude toward sin that worked against their interests. We agree with Radin that religion helped the slaves escape "demoralization" and "neurosis." Radin credits this "escape" from the degrading features of enslavement to Christianity. But communal and cultural development also provided that extra layer of faith. His interpretation of the psychological features and effects of the conversion experience would be even more insightful if a broader approach to slave religion were taken. Ibid.

13. John W. Blassingame, ed., *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 377; Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, 132; Dorothy Sterling, *Captain of the Planter: The Story of Robert Smalls*, (New York: Doubleday, 1958) 32–33; Ames, *Dixie Diary*, 45; Towne Diary, passim. Northern teachers related that the Gullahs sometimes found ways to gain some literacy during slavery. Two house servants "picked it up from their master's children," letter by letter. Several other people learned from hymn books. Some were never taught but picked up letters "here and there," which enabled them to read "easy sentences." Allen Diary, 62.

14. Berlin, *Freedom: Black Military Experience*, 46–54; Allen Diary, 155; Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 68–70, 75–76, 93–97; Higginson, *Army Life*, 39–40.

4: Carawan & Carawan B,Z-5 (1959-1988) 1989
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INTRODUCTION

IT HAS BEEN more than twenty years since *Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life?* was first published—twenty-three years since the material was recorded and the original photographs were taken. In some ways the world pictured in those photographs no longer exists. When you visit the island now, you are immediately aware of change. There are many more houses and signs of prosperity. Most of the older, weathered, wooden homes are gone, replaced by brick or newer wood ones. The two main roads are heavily traveled now, primarily by people on their way to the two resort communities adjacent to Johns Island—Kiawah and Seabrook. On the major crossroads there are small shopping centers and in the summer months produce stands to market vegetables to resort-goers.

In the early 1960s the islanders were hard-pressed people—maids, cooks, farmhands, and laborers. The level of education for most was quite low and yet we found an insight and wisdom about life, and particularly a richness of folk expression, that was inspirational. Before Guy came to Johns Island, he had traveled and worked in many parts of the South. A musician with training in folklore, he had a keen appreciation for the depth and variety of southern folk culture. On Johns Island he found something special, a world with a beautiful and flourishing cultural heritage unlike any he had encountered before. He felt it should be shared with many more people and nurtured in a way that would enable it to survive. Yet Johns Island was in the midst of cultural and social transition. How could he, as a visitor, make a contribution to its survival? We would spend the two years we lived on Johns Island in 1963–65 struggling with that question and trying a variety of projects designed to focus attention on the cultural richness of the

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Mr. Esau Jenkins

"MR. JENKINS, I WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH TO BECOME A REGISTERED CITIZEN."

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On Johns Island, in the year of 1948, I saw the condition of the people who had been working on the plantations for many years. And I knew that we were not able to do the things that would need to be done unless we could get people registered citizens.

I operated a bus from Johns Island to Charleston carrying people to their jobs. So I decided to get a group in the bus in the mornings and teach them how to read the part of the Constitution that we have to read before we are able to become registered citizens.

One of these mornings I was teaching the group to read the Constitution, a woman by the name of Alice Wine said to me, "Mr. Jenkins, I would like very much to become a registered citizen, but I cannot read this Constitution because I did not get but just so far in school, and I cannot pronounce these words. But if you are willing to help me, I will show you that I would be one that would be willing to vote in every election."

So I decided to pay more attention to her, and I helped her at more times than I do the regular times when we have school in the bus, to get her prepared to register.

Mrs. Alice Wine

EVERYBODY READ AND GET A PAPER

I come around to registering through Mr. Esau Jenkins. I used to ride his bus, and he said, "I want to carry you down to register." I said, "I can't read those hard thing yet," and he get the book and he start to learn me.

He start to help me read and when I get to them hard words I feel like jump it. My tongue so heavy until I couldn't pronounce the words, you know. But he said to me, "No, the hard word is the things for you to learn." And so me and them girls (and some of the girls could read 'em—dum-de-dum-dum-dum—right on through, right on through, but I couldn't do it), we tried 'em.

Then he take we up to a registration board on Society Street, and we get in line. Everybody read and get a paper, read and get a paper. And I be in line next to this girl, and she read and she stammer. And then the man put me for read, and I read those things just like I been know 'em. And I didn't know them things, I swear!

Mr. Jenkins figure I going fail. He been right outside there on the corner for listen. And when I come out he said, "Miss Wine, you get it?" I say, "Yes, sir." Say, "Well, sir!" I say, "I thought I couldn't read them hard thing." Them thing was *too* hard!

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871 read and to sign their name. And they would say quietly, "I can't write" or "I
895 can't read that well," and that's how I found out where each one of those
(212) students was on that first night.

The people we worked with were denied an education and so we had to
871 teach them how to read and write. I don't remember when they got a full
872 nine months elementary school on Johns Island. They didn't have anything
185 but a little four-month school when Septima was teaching over there. When the people needed them to work in the fields, the farmers just went and knocked on the school house and the kids had to come out. So they didn't even get a full four-month education.

871 And then they told me the things they wanted to learn, which was to be
212 able to write letters to their relatives that live elsewhere and read letters from
185 them, rather than have to carry them to the white people they worked for to read them for them. They wanted to know how to do money orders. So then I started to teach them what they wanted to learn.

871 And of course they were conscious of the voting process because Esau
666 had run for school board in 1954. He didn't win because he didn't have
185 enough blacks registered on the island to put him in. They had three positions open and he came in fourth. Well, after that election they started appointing the school board members. Therefore, the students knew the importance of getting registered to vote. So it wasn't hard to sell them that idea. But like I said, I worked with them on the things they wanted to know first.

We had no idea of the school spreading. We were just doing what Esau asked us to do for his people on Johns Island. Well, they started registering to vote, and then they encouraged other people to go and register to vote. People on Johns Island were registering to vote so fast that people on Wadmalaw wanted it. Then Edisto wanted it. Then we wound up in the north area of Charleston with two classes.

Mrs. Bernice Robinson

THE PROGRAM WAS TRANSFERRED TO THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

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By 1961 so many people were asking for the program from all around the South. Myles felt it was getting to the point where we were spreading ourselves too thin. The best thing for us to do was to contact organizations and have them send people in to Highlander to be trained as teachers. We would work with them for one week and train them as teachers. Then they could go back and set up classes.

871 And then we talked about second-stage classes—political education. Our
641 classes didn't just stick to reading and writing to register to vote. We talked
185 about the power that was in the hands of the people if they know the set-up of the government. So we talked about the set-up and who you go to for what.

464 562 197 463 no use of standard English and which entail little interaction with a diverse public. The top five jobs held by black men in the region are blue collar and require few language-related tasks. Jobs held by island men and by mainland men of the lower socio-economic group are roughly similar blue collar laboring jobs. Those held by mainland men may require fewer skills than the construction jobs held by island men, but none entail daily use of a standard variety of English to any great extent. Mainland and island women, however, have had strikingly different employment patterns and educational opportunities. Mainland women in the group studied have been confined to domestic service or field labor with a limited number of employers. One of these women had lived on a single plantation all of her eighty years, working for one family most of that time. She had had no formal education and could neither read nor write. [212] No woman born on the island was illiterate. Domestic jobs held by island women were varied, ranging from jobs in resort motels to work for middle-class families in mainland communities. Women who had become teachers had moved off the island to be nearer their jobs in mainland schools. In the [177] middle aged and younger group of women from the island, some had obtained jobs as clerks in mainland stores in the past decade and interacted daily with the diverse tourist population which visits coastal South Carolina in the summers. One woman served as mail carrier for a small mainland

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
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193 369 urban ghetto which was in sight of City Hall in the upstate community had traveled much less extensively than had the children in the isolated rural community of Georgetown County. The rural children, many of whom had lived for extended periods in northern cities, used far more creole forms in their speech than did urban children in the upcountry. Indications were that these rural children might command a wider range of language structures along the creole continuum than those in the more urban area. In asking about mobility patterns among adult speakers in the island community, I 484 464 discovered that many, if not most, older men had lived off the island for extended periods of their lives and that most 562 women had commuted off the island on a daily basis to mainland jobs for the past three or four decades. In the main- [184] land community, similar patterns prevailed for men, while women were much less mobile and generally worked near or in 562 871 their own immediate community. Furthermore, educational patterns for women were different in the two communities to 184 a striking degree. Many mainland women in the older gener- • [212] tion were illiterate, while some island women had gone away [423] to college. Land ownership patterns on the island provided a measure of economic security which enabled islanders to help educate their daughters. For these educated island 167 166 women, geographic mobility was associated with social mobil- ity as well. None who had college educations now lived on 562 the island; some were married to mainland businessmen and 871

8: Smith Q-4,5 (no date) 1926
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on their part just as much interested in and amused by up-country talkers, white or black. Plantation Negroes delight, though not appearing to do so, to watch a visiting stranger: "Dey use dem mout' so funny!"[9]

To come to the dialect itself, and to single out some of its most interesting features," be it always kept in mind that Gullah is uniformly a spoken not a written speech. It lacks entirely any of the influences associated with writing or printing. It is untouched by the scratch of a pen save as it was recorded in transit, so to speak, by Mrs. Christensen, Colonel Jones, Mr. Gonzales, and others.

Both on this account and also because it has had to muddle along without the standardizing effects of education, in it all the leveling and simplifying processes possible to language have had free sway." Furthermore, when it was first formulated as a medium of communication between master and slave, it was almost certainly a highly simpli-

[9] Bennett I, 340.

[10] In this connection two important preliminary comments should be made.

(1) It is not meant that these features are unique in Gullah: some are, but many are not. Many of the grammatical usages, pronunciations, popular etymologies, proverbs, etc., are found in similar dialects elsewhere, and occasionally in general Negro usage or even in white usage in the South. For example F. M. Cronise and H. W. Ward, *Cunnie Rabbit, Mr. Spider, and the Other Beef: West African Folk-Tales*, E. P. Dutton, N. Y., 1903, gives the Sierra Leone Negro dialect wherein may be found many interesting parallels with Gullah. Compare also the remarks of Professor Krapp below, Note 46. Parsons, also, (Preface XVII) gives several Bahaman parallels such as *day-clean*, *man* as a form of address, *do* as a supplicatory exclamation, and in Note 5 mentions further Sierra Leone parallels, *um* (them), *too* (very), *aintee* (South Carolina *enty*), *nyse* (eye), *titty*, (sister), and *oonuh* (you).

Likewise Mr. Bennett throughout his two articles (especially I, pp. 346, 347) calls attention to various parallels in Middle and Elizabethan English and in the peasant usage of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Sussex and Kent.

(2) Again, there was (and is) no standard Gullah in the sense that there is a standard literary English. As Mr. Bennett explains: "Gullah has its variants, as naturally followed from the constrained remoteness of distant plantations and absence of intercourse; phrases heard on the Altamaha are unknown upon the Santee; words in use in the Georgetown District vanish at Edisto; John's Island is not St. Helena's; Silk Hope was not Toogoodoo." (I, 341). Moreover, the particular method of reducing the dialect to writing, especially the degree to which phonetic spelling is carried, causes many variations among the different writers of the dialect. It is interesting to compare, for example, the Beaufort Gullah of Mrs. Christensen and John G. Williams, the Georgetown Gullah of J. Jenkins Hucks, the Combahee Gullah of Gonzales, the St. Helena dialect of Parsons, and the Edisto dialect of Marcellus S. Whaley.

An interesting example of the differences in Negro dialects is contained in Addison Hibbard's "Æsop in Negro Dialect," *American Speech*, June, 1926.

[11] Writing in 1867, W. F. Allen, one of the compilers of *Slave Songs in the United States*, says: "With these people the process of 'phonetic decay' appears to have gone as far, perhaps, as is possible."

9: Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
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181 567 175 marked by countenances of a more European cast than those of ordinary negroes, have exchanged the Koran for the Bible. . . . During the last war [1812] when Admiral Cockburn was off this coast with his fleet, he made an offer of freedom to all the slaves belonging to the father [John Couper] of my present host, and a safe convoy to Canada.[13] Nearly all would have gone, had not African Tom, to whom they looked up with great respect, declined the proposal. He told them he had first known what slavery was in the West Indies, and had made up his mind that the English were worse masters than the Americans. About half of them, therefore, determined to stay on St. Simon's Island, and not a few of the others who accepted the offer and emigrated had their lives shortened by the severity of the climate in Canada."

Z. Kingsley, in his *Treatise on the Patriarchal Form of Society*, published some time before 1829, cites "two instances to the southward [of Charleston], where gangs of negroes were prevented from deserting to the enemy by drivers . . . and what is still more remarkable, in both instances the influential negroes were Africans, and professors of the Mohammedan religion." It is clear that Kingsley had John Couper's "Old Tom" in mind, and that the other Mohammedan was Spalding's Bilali,[14] whose so-called *Diary*, written in Arabic, on Sapelo Island, is now in the possession of the Georgia State Library in Atlanta. Pages from the *Diary* have been incorporated in the end-paper designs of this book.

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212 567 This manuscript has aroused keen interest among anthropologists, and the photostatic copy I sent to Melville J. Herskovits has been translated by Joseph Greenberg.[15] During the summer of 1939 Mr. Greenberg visited Northern Nigeria, under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council, and through his fluent knowledge of Arabic won the confidence of educated Malams in the city of Kano. They assisted him in deciphering certain parts of the "diary" and in locating the places in an important Mohammedan legal work [16] from which most of the manuscript derives. It is amusing that the first result of Mr. Greenberg's study was to

[13] *Admiral Cockburn harried our coast during the War of 1812, and as late as January, 1815, destroyed the orange orchards on Cumberland Island.*

[14] *Charles S. Wylly, in Seed Sown in Georgia, tells us how, in 1813, his grandfather, Thomas Spalding, relied upon Bilali to aid in the protection of his property on Sapelo with its "five hundred slaves, many fresh from . . . Africa."*

[15] *A résumé of the results of his work has been published in the Journal of Negro History, July, 1940.*

[16] *The Risala of 'abu Muhammad 'abdullah b. 'abi Zaid 'alqairawani.*

9: Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
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show that the "diary" was in reality not a record of Old Bilali's life. Disappointing as this discovery may be to those who are primarily interested in his history, it is still possible, according to Mr. Greenberg, to draw certain conclusions about him from the character of the manuscript.

He was apparently a fanatical Mohammedan, for the "diary" consists mainly of descriptions of "ablutions and the call to prayer." Mistakes in the Arabic script,[17] along with "repetitions, incorrect word divisions, and incorrect arrangement of the excerpts," indicate that he was trying to reproduce what he had learned orally. Since "books are first taught by oral memorization," Mr. Greenberg conjectures that "at the time of his departure from Africa the writer was still a young student."

It was reassuring to find that Mr. Greenberg's deductions tallied with what Katie Brown, Bilali's great-granddaughter, had told me about him years before. According to her, he was captured when not fully grown, and went to Sapelo from Nassau with his wife and children. Where he spent the intervening years no one knows. Both Katie and her cousin, Shadrach Hall, tell me that the three oldest children were named Margaret, Hester, and Charlotte (Cotty). The others bore African names: [18] Fatima (Shad says she was named for her mother), Nyrrabuh or

[17] Concerning the possibility "of discovering the origin and status of the writer" through the character of the script he used, Mr. Greenberg says: "The fact that the Arabic script was of the Maghrebine, or Western variety, and that the Risala is a legal work of the Malekite school, which is dominant in appproximtely the same regions as the Western style of writing, would seem to indicate that the writer came from some part of northwest Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunis) or from the Western Sudan. The confusion of 'd' and 'f' in several cases points strongly to the Sudan, since this pronunciation is unknown elsewhere. It is doubtful whether local varieties of the Maghrebine script in the Sudan can be distinguished at the present state of our knowledge; at any rate, no attempt has hitherto been made to do this, and therefore, this approach would seem to be closed to us pending further research."

In Notes on Northern Africa, the Sahara and Soudan, by W. B. Hodgson, the birthplace of Bul-ali is established in a letter from James Hamilton Couper of Hopeton plantation, Georgia. This letter is given in full, and states that his "driver Tom" and Mr. Spalding's Bul-ali were intimate friends. Both spoke the Foulah language, and were from the Kingdom of Bambara. Tom was born on the Niger River in Kianah, between Jenne and Timbuctoo, but Bul-ali was from Timboo.

[18] Lyell mentions the singular taste displayed by Negro parents in naming their children: January, April, Monday, and Hard Times. He did not know what Dr. Turner has discovered: the slaves followed a West African custom in naming their children according to the time of birth, conditions surrounding it, or the temperament of the child. Bad Boy, Peanut, Blossom, and July are names found on the Georgia coast. In West African Studies Miss Kingsley tells us that soon after a child is born it is given "the name by which it is to be called. A second name which the child usually takes is that of the day of the week on which it is born."

11: Johnson H-4,5 (no date) 1930
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ship was worthy of admittance. The Reverend Charles C. Jones, after many years spent in preaching to sea-island and mainland slaves concluded that they were inclined to place true religion in profession, *in forms and ordinances*, and in excited states of feeling, and true conversion in dreams, visions, trances, and voices, "all bearing a perfect or striking resemblance to some form or type which has been handed down for generations, or which has been originated in the wild fancy of some religious teacher among them."[82] They offered these dreams and visions to the church sessions as evidences of conversion just as the whites were inclined to do in camp meetings.

They were also quick to follow the custom of the whites in "churching" offending members. "The discipline of colored members," wrote the Reverend Mr. Jones, who, no doubt, had taken part on many such occasions, "is involved, tedious, vexatious and disgusting." Excommunications and suspensions were of "perpetual occurrence, for crimes shocking in character, and of themselves sufficient to show the general state of morals; such for example as adultery, fornication, theft, lying, drunkenness, quarreling, and fighting." The Reverend Mr. Jones thought that the Negroes perverted the gospel and colored their religious practices with their African superstitions. Thus their "doctors, prophets, and conjurers" modified the teachings of the white preachers.[83]

The church was not only responsible for giving Christianity to the Negroes, but also to a large extent for teaching a few of them to read and write. The early statutes

[82] Jones, *Religious Instruction of the Negroes*, pp. 125, 126.
[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 127, 128.

11: Johnson H-4,5 (no date) 1930
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against teaching slaves to read had long been in abeyance when Sunday schools began to be organized among them early in the ante-bellum period. Masters usually encouraged their people to attend these Sabbath schools and often delegated their own children to do the teaching. The reaction against the Abolition agitation led many planters to fear the consequence of their people's learning to read. Accordingly, the Sunday school movement was largely abandoned after 1835; nevertheless, on every plantation there were always some slaves who either were taught to read with the permission of the master or who picked up the knowledge clandestinely. Miss Towne found on St. Helena Island in 1862 a cabinet maker, Will Capers, who could read and write and who hoped the Government would pay him for teaching his fellows. He told her that he conducted a secret night school for men during plantation days.[64] Nevertheless, it was unusual for a slave to know his letters, and most of them could not count beyond, "one, two, five, eight, ten."[65]

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For the most part, sea-island planters found their laborers mild and forgiving, quick to start a quarrel, but as quick to forget it. Sir Charles Lyell thought that there were more broken heads among the Irish in a few years when they came to dig the Brunswick Canal than had been known among the coastal Negroes for half a century.[66] They were a good natured, happy people, making the most of their lot, forgetting the work of the day in their hours of "pleasuring."

[64] *Letters and Diary of Laura M. Towne*, p. 27.

[65] Towne, "Pioneer Work on the Sea Islands," *Southern Workman*, July, 1901. Miss Towne, however, could not have come in contact with the house servants, but only with the field hands.

[66] Lyell, *Second Visit to the United States*, I, 266.